

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44). 231
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Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century. 231
[235]

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chiloteans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Pleuronichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Ammodytes* sp.), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegle* sp. and *Parastacus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidemea* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirrels (*Purpure*) were sought also for food. 226
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Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Oreigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and blankets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febré, 1882, a. v. rincón; House, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported. 227
[225]

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut. 251 ●

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *reño*; and parched, or *márka*. From the first was made a bread, *kofka*, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latham, 1909, p. 343 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huqueu, tece, mango, and lanes. (Cf. *supra* under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.) 252

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make *charki*, or jerked meat.

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[252]



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[251]

Cooking utensils: 1, Araucanian girl mixing chili and salt with pestle and mortar, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, other types of pestle and mortar, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. (Figures 2-6 courtesy Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago de Chile.)

[p. 165(B)]

sleep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and vulture are no longer seen in the area; deer, rarely. Tigers, vulture, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alerce spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their skins to Chileno. 225

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a belated-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the pigeons and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple mouse snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 226

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were mullets, flatfish, perches and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chapin, and, later, of hemp; with poisons and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of gulls; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported. 227

Alerce area men today fish in the Pacific for corvina (solisling), dorado (sea-fish), and robalo (sea-trout). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by gulls (pl. 41, 1). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alerce area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sea-dried (pl. 41, 3), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is smoked or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are bushman, then (unidentified), and olive. Umeo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available. 228

Toward the end of the day, the wires of the fisherman can be seen

Food such as meat and fish and the stomach of sheep are hung over the raft or pole and there dried or smoked. Bunches of corn on the cob were seen outside the crushers, and foods that must be kept dry, such as salt and flour, hung from them in containers.

Implement, probably traditional ones, used in the preparation and serving of food were seen in many households. Among them were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, tumblers, mugs, and mortars; stone mortars, pestles, metates, and millers; earthenware ones, such as cisterns and ollas; those made of parts of animals, such as cups, spoons, containers, and sieves; and those woven of plant fibers, namely, baskets and winnowing trays. All the above are made "by those who know how; not every family makes its own. One must have not only the intelligence to make them, but one must know how to make them and have the implements with which to make them." "I know how to make them," said the 52-year-old man, "but I do not have the necessary tools to do so." Kitchen implements of non-Araucarian origin in use were the 3-footed iron kettle, found in every cake; knives and spoons; enamel or porcelain cups, plates, pitchers, and bowls; disposers of tin; galvanized pails; and both iron and copper teapots.

Of wooden utensils (pl. 42), spoons (pichas) are approximately 16 to 22 inches in length and have either a round or oval-shaped scoop 1 to 2 inches deep. These are used for stirring and for dipping foods. Stirring is also done with sticks of hard wood (witrú). Wooden ladles (ratwe) are used for lifting hot foods, such as tortillas. Wooden bowls (rafi) serve primarily as unsinkable dishes. They were seen being used for washing meat and vegetables, mixing food, soaking wash, carrying just-dyed hot yarn, threshing grain by foot, and for storage. Bowls are hewn out of cross sections of tree trunks big enough to permit two handles, and are from 6 to 9 inches in depth. The openings of round ones approximate 15 to 18 inches in diameter; trapezoidal ones, 12 by 18 to 15 by 22 inches. Wooden tumblers are used, today, exclusively for drinking maqui at the qillaton. A wooden tumbler exhibited in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (specimen No. 416) is 5 inches in height, nearly 3 inches in depth, and 14 inches in diameter at the opening. The maul (wawunakawwe), a piece of wood cut down to form a ball-like club at the end of a handle, is used for cracking or breaking bones, for jerking meats, cracking avicoria pine nuts, and for other similar operations.

Mortars (wasachawe or kamsakura) and pestles (kudi) (pl. 42, 252, 2, 4, 3) were used to grind and mix condiments, especially salt and chili. A few mortars were of wood; generally they are of lava stone,

families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe area; in Cofaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Cofaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (*chuso* or *liq pofili*) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting.

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the *jilguero* and *chanchito*. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten.

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter.

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252 Lamb is generally roasted. Mutton, pork, and fowl are cut into small pieces and used in stews and thick soups. Certain cuts of beef are roasted; less desirable ones are made into stews; or their essence is extracted by cooking and made into thick soups. Jerked beef is boiled and then fried. Puma, too, is roasted.

An informant showed us how lamb was prepared and roasted, and said that all other meat was roasted in the same manner. He broke the ribs in several places with a maul and then cut both ribs and meat into long strips. Next he poked the sharpened end of a pole through each strip of meat, twirling it in spiral fashion as he did so, leaving all sides of the meat exposed (pl. 51, 1). In roasting it, he rested the sharpened end of the pole on a stone at the fireside and held the other end so high that the meat was just above the glowing coals (pl. 51, 2). He rotated the pole by hand almost continuously, so that the meat would be roasted on all sides.

Stews and soups are made from cuts of beef not desired for roasting. The meat, cut into small pieces, is cooked with the bones until the essence has been extracted. The meat is then given to the dogs, the bones are cracked open with a maul, and the marrow is taken out and returned to the broth. Potatoes and/or vegetables are then added to thicken the broth, and salt mixed with chili to season it; other seasonings are added, if desired. Mutton and fowl stews are made in the same manner.

● 251 Jerked beef (the *ajim ilo* of the Araucanians, and the *charqui* of Chileans) was prepared at home by one of the informants because it was an easy way to take the family's meat supply to the harvest fields, a day's journey away. "Harvesting will take a few days and we cannot take time out to slaughter an animal then," she explained. She cut one continuous thin slice from a large boneless piece of beef, rubbed salt well into one side of it, made a roll of it, and let it lie for 2 days and 2 nights. Then she unrolled it and let it hang in the sun for a day, rubbed salt into the unsalted side, folded the piece, and let it lie for a day and a night. The following morning she examined the piece to find soft spots in it. Into these she pounded salt with a maul. During the night preceding the day on which she intended to prepare it for a meal, she let it lie in water which she kept lukewarm on one of the flat stones close to the fire. "This will take the salt out of it," she commented; "no one wants all that salt in it. And there is no need seasoning that meat with salt when you cook it." It is thoroughly washed then and boiled until tender, when it is pounded into small pieces with a maul and dropped piece by piece into sizzling grease. After it has fried a little, thick slices of onions are added.

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When done, it is eaten with boiled potatoes or tortillas. "Or, if you do not like onions, you can do this: after the meat has fried a short time, add a mixture of mashed boiled potatoes, very finely cut onions and chili and any other seasoning you may like, maybe tomillo or orégano; I add tomillo, sometimes." 251 ●
252

A favorite dish is spiced lung of sheep or lamb. While the animal is still breathing, it is hung up by the head, its lungs are filled with a mixture of salt, chili, and a wild root called liuto. This bloats the lungs and the animal finally dies. A lung so bloated was seen hanging on a wall in an Alepie ruka. The lungs are then removed and hung up until the following day. The seasoning has now penetrated all fibers. The lungs are then cooked whole, and eaten with relish. 252

The coagulated blood of sheep and lambs at slaughtering time is seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onions, and then either fried, or cooked with vegetables, and eaten immediately. "Anyone who happens to be around is invited to eat of it; we call it fiachi."

Stomach and entrails of sheep and lambs are eaten fresh or smoked. An informant was met at a river where she had cleaned and washed the entrails, stomach, and pelt of a sheep which her husband had slaughtered earlier that morning. At home she boiled the entrails and stomach, and then scraped the lining of the stomach with a knife, boiled all again, and asked in a friendly way: "These are ready now to be eaten; would you like some?" The pelt she had hung on a fence to dry.

Stomachs of sheep were seen stretched on crosslike frames and hung over fireplaces. "I shall cook these for my family tomorrow," said one woman. Head, tongue, and feet of sheep were scraped of skin, cooked, and eaten. A woman who was cleaning some was swishing a chain containing them back and forth in the current of a river. "I want them freed of every bit of fleece," she remarked.

Women, today, occasionally make Chilean empanadas. They consist of finely chopped seasoned mutton encased in tortilla dough. One woman made half-moon-shaped ones for sale at a fiesta, and fellow Araucanians favored her with purchases. She pounded the dough flat with her wrist, dropped a tablespoonful of the meat seasoned with a mixture of salt, chili, and onion greens on it, folded the dough, pressed the edges together with her thumb and impressed them with a home-made serrated wheel carved out of flattened horn. The field assistant thought of zigzag braid when she saw the edge. As the woman finished an empanada, she dropped it into a kettle of boiling [415]

pelts were used if additional covering was needed. All sleep in day clothes. "It is this that makes it so difficult for a school child that is a bed wetter," noted a teacher. 352
513

An Alepúe man had heard his grandfather tell that formerly, in rare instances, a man made for himself a mattress. He laid bunches of grass parallel to each other and intertwined these with less coarse grass. A few families today have factory-made mattresses, especially if either parent of the family at one time worked in a Chilean home. Feather pillows are not used; anyone wishing to sleep with head elevated uses a rolled or folded poncho. A sick person was seen having the head elevated on a piece of wood covered with a poncho. Coverings are folded and laid aside when not in use. [758]

Low 4-legged stools, low benches, and log sections are used as seats. Shelves, attached to walls or suspended from rafters, and a table usually provide space for storing cooking and eating utensils, and movable containers. If containers hold food, they are often suspended in midair by means of voqui from the beams or fire raft, or are hung on pegs on walls or fire raft to keep their contents from animals, such as cats and chickens. An Alepúe woman had made a shelf (18 inches long and 8 inches wide) by intertwining colihue sections of equal length with voqui. 352
251

According to Cooper's sources, grain and other food supplies were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes were stored in bins within the hut (1946, p. 705). Today all storage is within the ruka; wheat is stored in bins, boxes, barrels, cloth sacks, or lamb-skin sacks, and occasionally in the traditional storage place, the canoa, a dugout tree trunk with closed ends. A canoa in use in Cofaripe area was approximately two single arm stretches in length. Potatoes were seen being stored in boxes made of boards, in cloth sacks received in trade from Chileans, and in lofts in the back of the ruka. Lofts are made by placing planks on the beams of rafters. "Potatoes are always stored farthest away from the fire."

Today, containers for storage, other than bins, barrels, boxes, canoa, and sacks, are traditional baskets (külko and chaiwe), netted bags of various sizes (wilal), dried gourds, paunches and udders of cattle and sheep, earthenware ollas and cántaros, wooden dishes, factory-made porcelain, enamel, and galvanized dishes and pails. In some instances a piece of cloth tied by opposite corners served as a container, also.

CLOTHING

A 70-year-old Panguipulli man listed the following as a complete outfit of clothing for a man—and a boy as well—when he (the in- 241

Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the Argentine Government. [226] [657]

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food. [262]

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious." [252]

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (animo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry. [251]

A rhea (pl. 74, 3) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

the floor, or on cloth sacks filled with carded wool that rest on factory-made bedsteads or homemade platforms. When sleeping outdoors, persons lie with feet toward the rising sun. 352

Traditionally, ollas and cántaros and containers made of hide were used for storing such things as grain and chicha. A schoolboy was storing a pair of socks and other belongings in the hide of a small pig. His brother was going to store his things in the hide of a stillborn fetus of a pig. The two boys had emptied the fetus through its mouth, organ by organ, and had then stuffed the skin, including the head, with grass. "As soon as the skin is thoroughly dry, I shall take all the grass out of it and put my things into it," said the little boy. 415 251 ●

Things seen stored in sheds included lassos of braided horsehide, inner lining of horsehide, looms, bundles of recently shorn wool, sacks of spun yarn waiting to be dyed "when I know what colors I need for the pattern I want to make," several worn-down homewoven blankets, several bedsteads, dug-out tree trunks and boxes used for storing grain, cowhides, sheep pelts, saddle gear, ponchos, boots, men's and women's clothing. Potatoes were stored on platforms of colihüe stalks that rested on beams of rafters. In the fall of the year hay and straw also are stored in these sheds, unless the family has a separate shed for the purpose.

CLOTHING

In the early days guanaco wool was woven into material used for clothing. "This material was soft and delicate like silk," said an old informant. 291

Clothing of boys and girls followed the traditional pattern of adults'. A man's clothing included pants (chiripe) and a poncho (makufi). Those who wished to do so wore ojotas on the feet; in general, however, everyone was barefoot. Horseback riders often wore boots (fumell). Kolupan demonstrated how a chiripe should be worn by wrapping a piece of cloth lengthwise around his waist letting it overlap in front. ("This should be chamall," he noted, chamall being an oblong piece of woven material used for clothing.) He secured it at the waistline with a woven belt (trarüwe), pulled the lower back edge forward between his legs and tucked it under and over the belt. Belts were usually 7 feet long, 3½ inches wide, and ended in fringes. Then he put on his poncho, and said, "All I need now to be dressed as formerly is a pair of ojotas or fumell (boots) and a band about my head to keep my hair back." He indicated bringing a band across the forehead and temples, crossing it at the back of the head, bringing it forward, and tying a knot in it near the temple.

on their shoulders to the toldos. They also when on the march loaded themselves with their household gear, leaving bags of grease hung up in the trees for future use. He left them a couple of mares, from which part of their present stock is sprung. This story, however, should be taken with reservation, although it is perfectly possible that in some fight their horses were taken from them, and that subsequently, when all the Indians were joined together under the Cacique Lenketrou to invade the settlements, they received a share of the spoils, and have since added to their stock by trade.

The day following our arrival a council was held, and an interchange of presents took place. Here I made the acquaintance of the old chief Quintuhual, and presented him with a dagger. He was a short, heavily-built man, with a grave and indeed solemn expression; but he had a bad name for getting intoxicated and using knife or revolver freely—in fact, running a-muck. He was of course a relation—nephew, it was said—of Casimiro; but notwithstanding, he at first received me with great suspicion, and when, in answer to his inquiries as to what I was and why I came, he was informed that I was in the service of the Cacique of England, who wished the Indians well, but that I had visited these parts for my own pleasure, he replied that he was not a boy to be humbugged easily; but having instituted private inquiries, he soon changed his tone, showing me the greatest civility, and was never tired of asking questions about England and Englishmen.

Here the letters forwarded some time previously, which we had thought were by this time arrived at Patagones, were handed back to us. They had been forwarded to Foyel's people, but owing to those sent by me for England being written on pink note-paper, they were returned, the Indians considering the colour of the paper to denote war.

Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named

* Also called Poyel.